

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

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P R 291640Z JUL 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2668

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 255

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: AMB. JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF JULY 29, 1975 (SALT TWO-698)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMB. JOHNSON
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF JULY 29, 1975.

QUOTE:

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

JULY 29, 1975

MR. MINISTER:

I

TODAY I WANT TO DISCUSS THE PROVISION TO BE INCLUDED IN THE
NEW AGREEMENT FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER LIMITATIONS
AND REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS.

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AS YOU NOTED IN YOUR STATEMENT OF JULY 25, THERE IS AD
REFERENDUM AGREEMENT IN THE PREAMBLE OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT ON
A MUTUAL DECLARATION OF INTENTION TO UNDERTAKE IN THE NEAR FUTURE
NEGOTIATIONS TO LIMIT FURTHER AND TO REDUCE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE
ARMS. IN THIS REGARD, BOTH SIDES HAVE PROPOSED PROVISIONS FOR
ARTICEL XVI OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT.

II

MR. MINISTER, THE UNITED STATES HAS CAREFULLY STUDIED THE
SOVIET PROPOSAL AND THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE WITH
RESPECT TO A PROVISION IN THE NEW AGREEMENT COVERING SUCH FUTURE
NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS.
WE HAVE ALSO CAREFULLY CONSIDERED THE FACTORS WHICH WE BELIEVE TO
BE OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE IN PROVIDING FOR CONTINUED NEGOTIATIONS ON
STRATEGIC ARMS. TAKING ALL OF THESE ELEMENTS INTO ACCOUNT, AND
IN THE INTEREST OF MOVING THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD, I AM PRESENTING
A REVISED PROPOSAL FOR THE LANGUAGE OF ARTICLE XVI OF THE NEW
AGREEMENT. THE TEST OF THIS PROPOSAL IS:

THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE TO CONTINUE ACTIVE NEGOTIATIONS
FOR LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC ARMS, BEGINNING NO LATER THAT
ONE YEAR FOLLOWING ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THIS AGREEMENT,
WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF ACHIEVING FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND
REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE
DATE. THE PARTIES SHALL ALSO HAVE THE OBJECTIVE OF
CONCLUDING NEGOTIATIONS, WELL IN ADVANCE OF THE EXPIRATION
OF THIS AGREEMENT, ON AN AGREEMENT LIMITING STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS TO BECOME EFFECTIVE UPON SUCH EXPIRATION.

III

IN THE FOREGOING PROPOSAL, THE FIRST OBJECTIVE SET FORTH IS
THAT OF ACHIEVING FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC
ARMS AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE. IN STATING THAT AN AGREEMENT
ON FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS SHOULD COME INTO EFFECT AT
THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE, WE HAVE IN MIND THAT THIS OBJECTIVE
CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

THE SECOND OBJECTIVE SET FORTH IN OUR PROPOSAL IS TO ASSURE
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THAT NEGOTIATIONS FOR A FOLLOW-ON AGREEMENT LIMITING STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS ARE CONCLUDED WELL IN ADVANCE OF THE EXPIRATION OF
THE NEW AGREEMENT. THE LANGUAGE CONTAINED IN OUR PROPOSAL LEAVES
OPEN FOR DECISION BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS THE EXACT TIMING AND METHOD
OF ACCOMPLISHING THIS OBJECTIVE. ALTHOUGH THE FORM OF THE POST-
1985 AGREEMENT AND THE MANNER OF ITS NEGOTIATION ARE BOTH LEFT OPEN,
OUR DRAFT FIRMLY COMMITS BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO THE OBJECTIVE OF
THE TIMELY CONCLUSION OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT.

IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE U.S. PROPOSAL DOES NOT INCLUDE A PROVISION FOR A REVIEW OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE ON THIS MATTER. WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THE OBJECTIVES OF A REVIEW CLAUSE CAN BE MET BY THE REVISED U.S. PROPOSAL, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, INCLUDING PROVISION FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF AMENDMENT. WITH RESPECT TO AMENDMENTS, IT NOW APPEARS IN LIGHT OF THE SOVIET STATEMENT OF JULY 25 THAT OUR POSITIONS ARE SOMEWHAT CLOSER.

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ACTION SS-25

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IV

THE U.S. PROPOSAL REPRESENTS OUR STRONGLY HELD BELIEF THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCTIONS AND FURTHER LIMITATIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS SHOULD BEGIN NO LATER THAN ONE YEAR FOLLOWING ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. THIS PROPOSAL IS CONSISTENT WITH THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974. WE PROPOSE THIS TIME FRAMEWORK BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THAT THE PROCESS OF SEEKING CONTROL OVER STRATEGIC ARMS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO LOSE ITS MOMENTUM. ARMS

PROGRAMS, FOR THEIR PART, CAN ALSO ACQUIRE MOMENTUM. IN VIEW OF THE LONG LEAD TIME REQUIRED FOR PLANNING THE MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC ARMS, AGREEMENT SHOULD BE REACHED ON FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS AS FAR IN ADVANCE AS POSSIBLE. THEREFORE, IT IS CLEAR THAT PROMPT RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS WILL ENHANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR AGREEMENT ON FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS. CONVERSELY, DELAY IN ADDRESSING THESE ISSUES WILL ONLY MAKE SUBSEQUENT AGREEMENT MORE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE.

AS YOU KNOW, THE UNITED STATES IS CONVINCED THAT REDUCTIONS
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AND FURTHER LIMITATIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS CAN PRODUCE SUBSTANTIAL BENEFITS FOR BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES. SUCH BEFEBITS WOULD ACCRUE NOT ONLY IN TERMS OF ENCHACED NATIONAL SECURITY, BUT ALSO IN BOTH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TERMS. THE SOONER SUCH REDUCTIONS AND FURTHER LIMITATIONS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED, THE SOONER BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES WILL REALIZE THESE BENEFITS.

ACCORDINGLY, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSAL ALSO EXPRESSES THE OBJECTIVE OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, ONCE THEY RESUME ACTIVE NEGOTIATIONS, ACTUALLY TO ACHIEVE FURTHER LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS "AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE." THIS, THE ADDITIONAL MEASURES WHICH MAY BE AGREED UPON SHOULD NOT AWAIT THE EXPRIATION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT IN ORDER TO COME INTO FORCE.

V

THE UNITED STATES PROPOSAL ALSO EXPRESSED THE OBJECTIVE OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS OF CONCLUDING NEGOTIATIONS ON A FOLLOW-ON AGREEMENT LIMITING STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WELL IN ADVANCE OF THE EXPIRATION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. SUCH A FOLLOW-ON AGREEMENT WOULD BECOME EFFECTIVE UPON THE EXPRIATION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

IN AGREEING ON THE OBJECTIVE OF HAVING A FOLLOW-ON AGREEMENT, WE WOULD BE CONFIRMING TO EACH OTHER AS WELL AS TO THE REST OF THE WORLD OUR CONTINUED INTEREST IN LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS. A COMMITMENT BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO NEGOTIATE A FOLLOW-ON AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE A STABILIZING EFFECT ON THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SIDES.

TO ENSURE THAT A FOLLOW-ON AGREEMENT CAN MAXIMIZE ITS POTENTIAL BENEFITS FOR BOTH SIDES, THE NEGOTIATION OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT SHOULD BE CONCLUDED WELL BEFORE THE END OF 1985. THE TIMELY CONCLUSION OF A FOLLOW-ON AGREEMENT WOULD PERMIT EACH SIDE TO KNOW SUFFICIENTLY IN ADVANCE WHAT THE FUTURE LIMITATIONS WOULD BE FOR BOTH SIDES AND EACH SIDE WOULD BE ABLE TO ESTIMATE MORE PRECISELY ITS OWN STRATEGIC REQUIREMENTS FOR THAT FUTURE PERIOD. THUS, THE POSSIBILITY OF DESTABILIZING DEVELOPMENTS WOULD BE SIGNIFCANTLY

DECREASED.

VI

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MR. MINISTER, I BELIEVE THAT THE INITIATIVE WHICH THE U.S. HAS
TABLED TODAY PROVIDES AN EQUITABLE RESOLUTION OF THE QUESTION
REGARDING SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS.

UNQUOTE. JOHNSON

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